





In reviewing and filling out the examples given of Bloomfield's work in those two special fields. But only a comprehensive index could have helped us with the book's other 400 pages.

### The comparison of languages

Bloomfield's first linguistic studies, from 1910 onwards, were in the tradition of historical and comparative linguistics, a tradition in which he continued to work throughout his life. His last major work was a contribution to "comparative philology". Having provided himself—partly by his own fieldwork—with descriptions of a number of related Amerindian languages, he proceeded to what he considered to be the next higher, historical, "level of explanation": that is, to reconstruction, by comparison of a common ancestral language ("Parent Algonquian"). "In the study of human affairs," he says on an earlier occasion, "where changes . . . go on rapidly, the historical level of explanation has long been recognized", while in geology, biology and astronomy, where changes are slow, "recognition has come only after a long struggle". And in one of his characteristic asides, he goes on to speculate about some day when even the "laws" of physical science may "turn out to be conditions which change in vast reaches of time" and "become capable of historical explanation".

It was, so Bloomfield thought, in comparative historical studies that "the science of language had achieved its greatest success and had most refined its methods". He thought so without complacency. The grand designs of historical and comparative research depended, after all, on what could be achieved at the "lower" level, the level of "synchronic" description; and most of Bloomfield's later efforts were concentrated on providing himself with more adequate conceptual tools for that basic task of descriptive analysis. At the same time, he was anxious to preserve the keen edge of the traditional discipline: it was with this aim in view that he intervened repeatedly in defence of the neogrammarian assumption, of "the regularity of sound-change".

Even this old issue is still very much alive. Later studies, primarily by European linguists (such as André Martinet's *Économie des changements phonétiques*, Les Presses de la Sorbonne, 1969), the Prague Linguistic Circle's *Les problèmes du centre et de la périphérie*

du système de la langue, have made it clear that the connexion between synchronic systems and diachronic changes is more complex than appeared to either Saussure or Bloomfield. Sapir was more clearly aware of the awkward complexities of living language. And Bloomfield himself did not always find it easy to adhere consistently to the view he defended, of "sound-laws" operating "blindly" and "regardless of grammatical structure. Present-day corrections of this approach, in the context of generative grammar, prevent a belated return, in the United States, to the views of Sapir and of European scholarship.

Yet, on a number of points, Bloomfield's defence of the neogrammarian position still needs to be taken seriously. Here, as in many other disputes, his most convincing arguments were methodological. He will not deny that "our assumption (that is . . . our working method) leave a great many facts unexplained". This "setting off of problems is one of the advantages of scientific procedure": it is productive of new discoveries. But the challenge of the "unexplained residuum" cannot be met by simply adding further unrelated assumptions, such as those then fashionable about various spiritual driving forces or tendencies. The very capacity which those particular new assumptions had of "explaining" any and all changes of linguistic forms was highly suspect. Moreover, "any change in the assumptions necessitates a complete weeding out of all earlier conclusions that depend upon the rejected assumptions, and a reworking of all data embodied in those conclusions". But nothing of the kind had been attempted; we had only been asked to "loosen our assumptions". It is generally forgotten that by admitting sporadic and arbitrarily restricted sound-changes, we can "explain" everything only at the cost of abandoning "all results that were gained (since about 1816) by an implicit or explicit use of the present assumption of regular sound-change".

Bloomfield located the origin of those intellectual fashions to which he objected in the vogue of German *Geistesgeschichte*. This confusion about our working methods originates in other than linguistic circles. The cheaper sort of philosophers and literary men are always devising half-baked theories which pretend to solve all problems, including ours, by means of grandiose but undefined catch-words (*Idealtisch, geistesgeschichtlich, ganzheitlich, Spannung, Polarität*, and so on). . . . They



Leonard Bloomfield

offer a rakish up-to-dateness of phrase which is to show their possession of the important "new" idea and casts a suspicion of idiosyncrasy upon anyone who has not yet adopted it.

This, we remember, is the voice of one of the most original thinkers in the history of linguistics. To the very end, he objected to students in his own field "proclaiming revolutions in our science and setting out to found new 'schools' at the drop of a hat".

### Laying the mentalist ghost

At a critical point in Bloomfield's descriptive and analytical studies, it was again a methodological argument that proved to be decisive. It is true that in the 1930s, having abandoned the "mentalist" orientation of his early *Introduction to the Study of Language* (1914), he was prepared to subscribe to the ontological claims and denials of "behaviourism", "physicalism" or "positivism". He had become deeply suspicious of "the naive transition" we are all inclined to make "from speech to inner goings-on". The assumption of concepts which are "invisible, intangible and, in short, non-material entities" he thought to be mere confusion. But in arguing that linguistic description should do without reference to separate mental entities (over and above utterances, persons and situations), he would not rest his case on ontological denials.

Although I am one of those who believe . . . the entire baggage of mentalism to be empty and useless, I need not here attempt to re-argue the matter; for the Concept hypothesis, even if one accepts it, is totally irrelevant to the workings of scientific speech.

Linguistic description, like any other scientific description, needs to be "objective", that is, couched exclusively in terms of utterances, speakers, hearers, situations and actions.

"Good linguistic scholars", whatever their philosophical or psychological persuasion, will do precisely that. Or, in words which remind one of Gilbert Ryle:

Mechanists and mentalists will in principle give the same definitions for the meaning of a word; only, the latter, in principle if not in actual usage, prefix to each definition some such phrase as *the image of the concept of the idea of*.

The presence of these "prefixes" in a mentalist description will be regarded as mere verbiage by the mechanist, while their absence from a mechanist description may strike the mentalist as tantamount to an elimination of "meaning". But since, in fact, no one would deny (so Bloomfield thought) that linguistics is about meanings as well as forms, and since those "prefixes" do not enter anybody's linguistic reasoning (they are what Wittgenstein would describe as language "running idle"), why not agree, as a matter of scientific method, to address ourselves to those "features of situation and action" which make up everybody's explicit account of meanings? This is Bloomfield's basic proposal to fellow-linguists:

Let us keep our metaphysical persuasions for other occasions! It is true that he found it difficult at times to observe his own advice; but he did believe that linguistics, like all sciences, must guard its "autonomy", that it must keep neutral with regard to contradictory metaphysical assumptions. "To do so safeguards our results and makes them more significant to workers in related fields."

Serious philosophical disagreement, then, could not prevent methodological agreement between the "physicalist" Bloomfield and the "mentalist" Saussure and Sapir. Indeed, the short reviews of Saussure and of Sapir, even when supplemented by various scattered references, fail to give us an adequate idea of the profound influence of both, and especially Saussure, on Bloomfield's linguistic thinking. Acknowledgment in general terms, however, is quite unequivocal about Saussure: "He has given us the

theoretical basis for a new generation of human speech."

Bloomfield's polemic is not only more "only" than his own mentalist scholarship. It is a better description of what he himself investigated, by means of his ready-made answer to the question we may ask: "We know of the whole generation of American linguists that grew up under Sapir's influence. What is more difficult to accept is Sapir's insistence that meanings were unattainable."

had he not shown, too, the metaphysically uncommittal, viatical study of meanings, the doomed to failure or, at best, limited to "rough indications."

### The implications of meaning

Bloomfield was regarded than scornful about this failure; but he could not promise of success. In *Language*, a simple model of the "co-ordinating sounds with meanings" is presented to us than we find in the work of other linguists. It is unworkable. For it may speak of apples when we are in sight) the working speech and . . . the working depend upon the entire life of the speaker and of the hearer.

The situations which prompt utterances, include every aspect of the speaker's life. To give a scientifically accurate account of meaning for any language, we should have a scientifically accurate knowledge of everything in the speaker's life.

A 1943 paper on "Meaning" in the *Anthology*, goes even further. It is a range of present-day linguistic studies which we should still be able to describe, classify or explain in terms of meanings which are expressed in a language. To attempt to do this without reference to the speaker's life is to attempt to do the impossible. The desired all-comprehensive description, classification and explanation, is a task which is impossible.

There arise, long before the serious linguistic study, the need for a preliminary and independently particular act of observation, formulation, by virtue of some philosophic acumen, a realistic view of the universe which would

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a noun, serving as the subject of verbs, as the object of prepositions and transitive verbs, and so on. Careful study, however, showed that features like these are a part of the form; they are the formal features which come into being when two or more forms are combined in a larger form.

What we are left with, then, is just that "correlation" of forms, of partial and inclusive forms, with their meanings. This is precisely the position to which more recent ("Chomskyan") ventures in generative-transformational grammar seem to have returned.

Of course, there have been significant advances in the study of syntax since Bloomfield, advances which we owe primarily to "transformational" techniques of inquiry as developed by Harris and Chomsky. But two points might be made about these developments: first, that they are firmly based upon the work of the earlier "structuralists"; and secondly, that they have come to be diluted and overlaid by a tremendous amount of unsubstantiated speculation and pseudo-scientific manipulation.

Some of the novelties offered to us today are, in essence, rediscoveries. An example of insights rediscovered will be found upon re-reading Bloomfield's important paper on "Morphological Morphophonemics" reprinted here together with some highly instructive letters addressed to B. Bloch and Professor Hockett. Bloomfield, we find, was perfectly clear that the "descriptive device" of morphophonemic derivation, though suggestive of a possible "historical order", had yet to be distinguished from it; and also, that the "descriptive order" of basic and derived forms, though it may be viewed as a simplifying "fiction", was yet not arbitrary ("not merely our convenience") but a representation of significant relationships: it reflects "the speakers' habit of correlating morphologic complexes."

At the same time, Bloomfield (unlike more recent generative phonologists) would have found it outrageous to dispense with a phonemic representation of the "actual" (the "derived") forms; but unlike later American phonemists he would have recognized that a phonemic representation was itself determined by certain grammatical conditions. Systematic links between phonemes and grammar (so clear to the early phonologists) belong, among the insights that were lost to Bloomfield's successors.

Another significant and neglected feature of Bloomfield's thinking on language was his constant concern with the *explicitness* of linguistic statements. Contemporary linguists might well assume that this particular concern originated only more recently, with the generative formulation of grammars. It should be interesting for them to discover that Bloomfield's demands for "explicitness", which took the form of "A Set of Postulates for the Science of

Language", though very different, were in no way less rigorous. And it should be even more interesting to find that the very grammars, or sections of grammars, that have been formulated in a rigorously generative format, are all extremely inexplicit by Bloomfield's criteria. "The extensive grammatical 'vocabulary' of generative rules is generally left quite obscure. In some highly inflexible way, grammatical categories are simply assumed to be very largely universal, even in 'somewhat innate' (thus, Chomsky in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*), though there is no linguistic or logical or psychological evidence to support such an assumption. It should prove beneficial to be reminded, here, of Bloomfield's very different demands for 'explicitness'."

There remains a large area of Bloomfield's work which will attract the interest of many others, besides linguists. To quote B. Bloch's obituary notice:

His absorbing interest in linguistics as a science did not prevent him from devoting himself—more diligently than the majority of linguists—to its practical applications, especially in the teaching of reading and the study of foreign languages. In opposition to many scholars with far less understanding of science, he felt that scientific inquiry was by no means wholly its own justification.

The *Anthology* includes examples of Bloomfield's educational work. His short article "Linguistics and Reading" would, after thirty years, still be a revelation to many teachers and teacher-trainers. If it continues to be neglected, the reason is not that its proposals have been tried and found wanting; it is, rather, that linguistic knowledge of the past fifty years has not yet percolated to schools or colleges of education, and is only just reaching a few language departments of our universities.

Sheer necessity has given a better chance to the application of linguistic principles to the teaching of foreign languages. Bloomfield and his colleagues were deeply involved in the "Intensive Language Program" of the American army during the Second World War. And yet, even today, it is only in the most progressive schools that linguistic principles and techniques are given some measure of application. Bloomfield's "About Foreign Language Teaching", with its happy fusion of science and common sense, is still as fresh and informative as when it was written.

Bloomfield believed that linguistics, on account of its controllability and yet all-pervasive subject-matter, had a key position among the human sciences. "I believe", he said, "that in the near future—in the next few generations, let us say—linguistics will be one of the main sectors of scientific advance, and that in this sector science will then win through to the understanding and control of human conduct."

## Facts and theories

R. HARRÉ:  
*The Philosophies of Science*  
191pp. Oxford University Press.  
£1.30.

Mr Harré, a Fellow of Linacre College, Oxford, and a University Lecturer in the Philosophy of Science, has already published two books on scientific thought that have won recognition, and his new study of the philosophical bases of science is as good an introduction to the subject as could be wished for; and each chapter is followed by a longish "summary of the argument" which students should find of great practical use. Mr Harré, following Hirschel and William of Ockham, believed that scientific reasoning was inductive—the accumulation of facts, the formulation of a law to account for them, the confirmation of the law in other instances—but although this is a seductive theory Mr Harré has no difficulty in showing that none of the three principles will stand up, above all, what is a fact depends upon whether the investigator does or does not hold a particular theory. More recently, Sir Karl Popper has put forward a new version of inductivism

which Mr Harré summarizes, as meaning "that the only rôle of theories is to provide conjectures to be falsified"; but among other objections "It confuses psychological conditions for science with logical conditions".

In the end Mr Harré finds that out of the variety of ways in which a rational basis for science has been sought two opposed positions seem to coalesce. There is the positivist position, which tends to treat theories as if they are theorems in geometry, and to restrict empirical knowledge to the passing show of sense-experience. Over against this is the realist point of view which emphasizes the work of the human imagination in leading to conceptions of the realities behind sense-experience, and which admits the content of theories to the status of empirical knowledge.

It is a common belief that science has killed metaphysics, but from Mr Harré's pages it emerges clearly that though metaphysics is driven out with a pitchfork, yet will it return.

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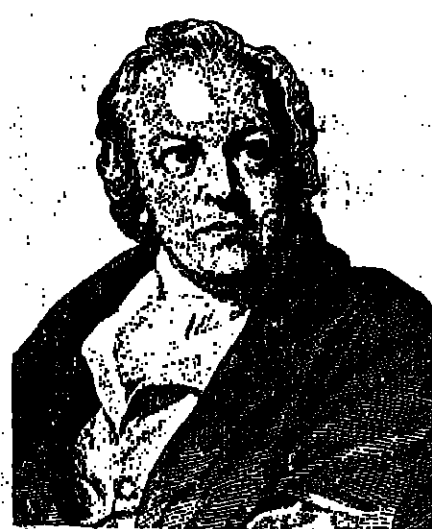
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as any of the old papers ever were. In fact, no one can be sure what is required until the first Finals papers appear this summer: what seems certain, though, is that this Language paper more than any other will be scrutinized for signs of regression to the old ineptitudes.

The other innovations in the Oxford syllabus are similarly under question. Many dons are dubious about the introduced modern element, and in particular wonder about the wisdom of putting such an emphasis upon it at the Moderations stage. Again, it was often said to me that there are simply not enough people around in Oxford to teach the modern authors effectively, and I did encounter a certain amount of comfortable prejudice against the whole idea of studying the new: "The revised course," said one fellow, "is stupidly contemporary. It's all too easy to write down what you think about the latest fashionable writer." In fact, though, the general view—a view endorsed by the Examiners' Reports—is that the new Mods have turned out to be a "resounding success. Somehow or other we've got it just right." Less enthusiasm was evident on behalf of the American Literature option, which again has been suffering for lack of teaching strength, but here early progress is envisaged. The appointment of Richard Ellmann as one of the three Literature professors and the imminent appointment of a University Lecturer in American Literature make it clear that the Faculty is bent on strengthening this option.

Not that this necessarily guarantees progress. As one saw with the Mods linguistic option, the real strength of a subject depends on the willingness of the colleges to nurture it. Some colleges, as is often pointed out, don't have an English Fellow, and Corpus Christi still clings to some ancient caution towards the subject by withholding a Fellowship from its resident English don (a particularly striking oddity this, because until recently its resident English don was F. W. Bateson, editor of *Essays*).

In *Criticism* and one of the most influential figures in the history of Oxford English Studies). But even these colleges which do have English Fellows are under no obligation to appoint people whose specialities chime in with Faculty innovations. And in any case vacancies don't crop up all that often. Thus, in theory, it is possible for the actual college-level teaching at Oxford to lag well behind the requirements of the syllabus. It would be wrong, I think, to suggest that this is happening in more than a few isolated cases, but it can happen and schoolboy applicants with, say, a passion for Scott Fitzgerald would be well advised to scrutinize the teaching personnel of their chosen colleges. Many Oxford dons would take the view that a youth with interests of this kind should head for Brighton. And so, perhaps, he should.

At Oxford, though, to talk of "the Faculty" is to talk of something even more nebulously multi-faceted than at Cambridge. There is no Faculty centre—aside from the English Library—and, outside meetings, no need for Faculty members to have much to do with each other. More important, though, there is no real belief in the corporate identity of the Faculty; on the contrary, most dons

I spoke to talked of a widening gulf between the individual colleges and the University. Some small evidence of this can be found in the fact that a University Lectureship is no longer an automatic adjunct to a college appointment.

### More criticism than creation

At most of the universities I have visited these past few weeks, the undergraduates have been unanimous in their complaints about overwork, about not having the time to go into any topic deeply enough, about the superficiality that is encouraged by a packed and too-ambitious curriculum. Oxford was no exception here; the difference, though, is that whereas in the other universities the teaching staff tended to dismiss such complaints as typical of the slothful young, at Oxford there was fairly widespread agreement that the new syllabus was far more demanding than the old one and that the Oxford English student probably does have to work harder than any other Arts student in the country.

One plaintive undergraduate said to me that when he came to Oxford he was a "kind of Yorkshire moor wanderer, passionately committed to

literature". Now, in his final year, he was "totally cynical". I repeated his testimony to one English Fellow, rather expecting the curled lip in response, and he said that this sort of complaint was both common and justifiable.

No wonder the students are cynical. For years they have been complaining about the syllabus and now they have got a new one they find that there is not only a large amount of Old English still surviving but that a lot of other things have been added. A great deal has been shoved in but very little has been pushed out the other end.

Not everyone went along with this, but it was generally agreed that the new syllabus didn't really answer student demands (such as have been articulated) for more openness, more scope for the leisurely pursuit of specific interests. It is not insignificant that although it is now possible to offer, as an optional extra, a detailed dissertation on an approved topic, few students will be able to find the time to prepare it.

The complaint about overwork was employed, as elsewhere, to explain the lack in Oxford of any vigorous student creativity. There are small poetry magazines like *Crit*, *Gloucester Green* and *Tomorrow*, and John Fuller's *Sycamore Press* is invaluable in its pursuit of undergraduate talent. There is a

Poetry Society (whose President said that she didn't know "making judgments" about poetry which has variable standards) and the *Journal of the Society of Private Madhouses* in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

When I put these gloomy notions of student apathy to one don, he smiled appreciatively, "see", he said, "they write but don't publish". To prove that Oxford isn't spoiled, he said, "I take more than new syllabus. I.L.T. Am L.T. and all the rest of it, entirely to the such quintessentially Oxonian. A beginning has been made but can anyone confidently gather cheerfully—progress and?

Many of the attendants who exercised unchecked sway over the patients were cruel and irresponsible. Dr. Forster Winslow, himself the owner of two private asylums, deplored the flowery and misleading language (like that of an auctioneer) in which the public advertisements were sometimes couched. The madhouse, with its inmates, might be offered for sale like a flock of sheep to the highest bidder, and doctors were openly guaranteed a handsome rake-off—20 per cent annually on the receipts—for recommending patients to the asylum. Even the medical proprietors of private madhouses were in many cases influenced chiefly by commercial considerations and said so.

Francis Willis, for example, wrote that he hoped to leave his sons "in possession of an accustomed House for wrongheads". Some of the proprietors were illiterate and ignorant, "not fitted for anything above the common labourer"; one man who was known to have had repeated attacks of a violent form of mental disorder was nevertheless allowed to take charge of a licensed house; he later committed a murder.

But to take this as an exclusive picture of the proprietors would be misleading and one-sided. People of integrity and disinterested motives were to be found among them; doctors in particular (and clergymen) assumed the responsibilities of conducting a licensed house and carried out these responsibilities faithfully. In 1844, sixty-one of the hundred provincial licensed houses were owned by medical men and in 1870 the proportion was the same. Among the medical proprietors were men of conspicuous ability and reputation, whose writings indicate that they were close observers and cautious theorists.

The grateful testimony of Charles and Mary Lamb, William Cowper and others bears out the opinion that among the owners of private madhouses were people of humane principles whose patients willingly returned for further periods under their care when necessary. A few of the abuses unraveled by Dr. Parry-Jones persisted into the beginning of the twentieth century in this country and in the United States. Clifford Beers published in 1908 a sincere and moving account of the tribulations he endured in the course of an acute psychosis treated in a variety of New England mental

There remains the fundamental objection to a system under which a conflict between duty and interest may arise in consequence of private profit being derived from the care and treatment of the insane, as a result of which licensed houses are liable to be regarded with disfavour and suspicion. The whole business had too often been conducted as a trade. The

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## Friend to Sir Philip Sidney

RONALD A. REBHOLZ:  
The Life of Fulke Greville

384pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, £5.50.

Ronald A. Rebholz says in his opening paragraph that "the ultimate reason for any study of Greville is his remarkable accomplishment as a writer". Yet, as his friend Sir Robert Naunton observed, Greville "had the longest lease, and the smoothest time without rub, of any of Queen Elizabeth's favourites"; and the famous epitaph which he composed for his tomb in St Mary's, Warwick, couples with the servant to Queen Elizabeth the councillor to King James. The public life of such a man is certain to be more fully documented than his personal, intellectual life, except in so far as his own writings record this; but for Greville these are the end-products of processes of thought to which both practical and speculative experience contributed.

Greville's surviving letters, like Donne's, tell us very little about the poet, and we have no intimate records of his discussions with such men as Sidney, Bacon or Essex; therefore the biography of the writer tends to become submerged in that of the great public servant, of the intellectual in that of the man of affairs. Similarly, a life of George Canning must emphasize the Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister at the expense of the founder of the *Anti-Jacobin*. (Not that the author of *A Treatise of Human Learning* bore any resemblance to the author of *The Needy Knife-Grinder*.) No doubt Greville might have applied to himself Bacon's self-analysis:

knowing myself by inward calling to be fitter to hold a book than to play a part, I have led my life in civil causes, for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by the preoccupation of my mind.

But what would now be called "social pressures" forced them both into the active life of the courtier. From this derived that timidity of conduct which contrasted so strongly with the boldness of Greville's mind. His primary inspiration throughout his life was that he had been "friend to Sir Philip Sidney," as the third clause in his epitaph declares. They entered Shrewsbury School on the same day in 1564 and thereafter remained close friends until Sidney's death. Greville then saw to the publication of the *Arcadia*, of which Sidney had bequeathed him the revised manuscript, and twenty years later wrote a life of his friend, in which he idealizes Sidney and Elizabeth and contrasts them with Cecil (whose determination to destroy the friends of Essex had temporarily interrupted Greville's career) and King James. To him, as to so many of those who had grown to maturity in

the golden age of Elizabeth, the new reign seemed an iron age. As a writer, Mr Rebholz says, Greville "tended to see the particulars of his world as illustrative of general laws and he tended to state what he perceived in the general positions and abstract terms of men's sciences". He was closely associated with Bacon in the 1590s; and, if his early friendship with Sidney made him a poet, the later friendship made him a philosopher poet. But his principal interest was in political theory, as most of his writings demonstrate; and he sought to derive from the political history of his own times lessons which might guide men to a better provision for the future. But the circumstances of the time intensified his Calvinist pessimism, and in his later years he foresaw the violent popular reaction to Stuart government which was to lead to the Civil War.

Christopher Hill, in his *Intellectual*

*Origins of the English Revolution* (an important book, to which Mr Rebholz nowhere refers) rightly gives much consideration to the work of Fulke Greville. And Greville grounded his political ideas in an understanding of history that was exceptional in his day. When he restored Warwick Castle he did so with an unusual sense of architectural history, restoring in the original style rather than creating in a contemporary fashion; and this respect for the past showed itself in his seeking access to the State Papers (which Cecil refused) for a life of Queen Elizabeth, and in his founding of a history lectureship at Cambridge. If he never attained the summit of political power, this was due as much to his integrity as to his timidity; with the critical question that has always faced politicians with ideas: was it better to take a strong stand on principle

and risk the loss of an appointment, or better to compromise and remain silent, in order to render service as was palatable?

The dilemma is not unknown to the unhappy patient. This is a thorough and expert biography of a man of exceptional intellectual gifts who devoted himself to the service of his country, and left a body of poetry and prose that can never be popular but can be ignored. The author's purpose is to relate the development of Greville's thought in his experience of private and public man, and experience of the private man more difficult to establish than thesis of Greville's religious "vision" about 1613 will not be everybody—that was inevitable in the book provides a reliable guide for the study of Greville's work. In an appendix Mr Rebholz has listed a convincing chronology of their composition.

## Sermons from Shakespeare

ALAN HOBSON:  
Full Circle  
Shakespeare and Moral Development  
232pp. Chatto and Windus, £2.75.

The centre of *Full Circle* is an interpretation of *The Tempest*. These four chapters are preceded by one on *King Lear* and followed by five others on *Richard III*, *Macbeth* and other plays. The title is a little misleading. Alan Hobson does not imply that Shakespeare returned in his final period to ideas he had held in his youth, nor even that Shakespeare's moral ideas developed in the course of his life; he is rather giving us Shakespeare's views on "moral development". Edmund's admission that "the wheel is come full circle" is a fatalistic reflection "on the bitter consequences of an evil deed". Shakespeare is underlining once again the "moral" of *Richard III* and *Macbeth*—though *King Lear* was almost certainly written before *Macbeth*—and in the last plays, the wheel is come full circle from *The Comedy of Errors*.

All Shakespeare's plays, we are led to understand, were written to provide the reader or spectator with certain moral lessons; that hatred is a bad thing, that altruistic love is good; that we ought to forgive, that if we behave as his hero behaves, we shall certainly be miserable. *The Tempest* "is the last of the long series of Shakespeare's plays about how to be happy."

Man makes moral choices, and whether

premeditated like *Macbeth*, or impulsive and unpremeditated like *Lear*, they have their inevitable consequences of good or evil.

The lessons Mr Hobson finds in the plays are not lessons to which one can take exception. It may be true, as W. H. Auden once suggested, that the greatest art is that which teaches us to unlearn hatred and to learn love. Doubtless the Elizabethans put more stress than we do on the didactic function of drama, but playwrights also wrote to entertain. In the epilogue to *The Tempest*, in lines Mr Hobson does not quote, Shakespeare confesses, through the mouth of Prospero, that his purpose had been to please.

What Mr Hobson has written is not literary criticism—though he has some shrewd literary comments—but an almost Victorian lay sermon, comparable with Moulton's *Moral System of Shakespeare*. Two of his chapter titles, "Both law and impulse" and "An unerring light", suggest that he is creating a Worldly-wisdom Shakespeare.

He makes some valid points. He has a sensible refutation of Auden's remarks on *Faust*; he is equally sensible on "the lunatic, the lover and the poet"; and, although he never mentions Jan Kott, he provides a useful corrective to his attitude. But his application of modern psychology and educational theory is not always happy. We are told that Prospero displays "a touchy self-righteousness, and an air of injured vanity" in his first scene with Caliban. Mr Hobson is the teacher

who, having failed, blames the pupil. Prospero is wrong, that on Caliban's nature will never stick "since as Caliban decides to 'speak grace'". Apart from the "grace" may here mean mercy, and that Caliban is disappointed with Stephano, Mr Hobson tells us what a father should do to a savage: "to rape the daughter."

Then, oddly, Mr Hobson Henry VI with Richard III. VI cannot love because deprived of love as a child, character—as one remembers David Warner's moving performance—is more sympathetic than Mr Hobson allows.

Even though every student was to be his grave, he meant to think of Prospero from his dukedom at the end of the play. It seems probable that Edgar's stressing of the relation between Edmund's fall and his consequence, Edmund was referring, as he lay on the wheel of fortune. Lastly, the daydream of primitive is not really "a setting of human spirit—or a recognition of freedom"; and though proper to compare it with the primitive attempts of the savages, it is surely irrelevant to the question, "what would you do if you were the only person left on earth?"

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magazine, and George Eliot was justifiably annoyed at the suggestion that she might be the author of both.

Sending off the corrected copies of her books to Edinburgh, she resumed her study of Florentine history, leaving the discussion of terms for the Six-shilling edition to Lewes. A shrewd bargainer of wide experience with publishers, he went into such details as the cost of paper and binding, and even the possible effect of repeal of the duty on paper. Finally, when all was settled, George Eliot wrote to Blackwood, accepting his offer of £60 per thousand. *Scenes of Clerical Life* and *Silas Marner* being published in the same volume.

16 Blandford Square,  
N.W.  
Nov. 18, 61.

My dear Sir  
Your explanatory letter to Mr. Lewes leaves, I think, nothing more to be discussed about this long-anticipated business of the new editions. I agree with you that the £4 saved on the paper will be best applied in improving the binding. We can hardly expect a very large sale of the 6/- editions, so it will be wisest to proceed on the basis of modest hopes in the printing.

Let us understand, then, that I expect to accept the proposition of £60 per thousand for all the four books in their 6/- edition, if you at length decide on fixing "Silas" at that price.

You will perhaps be interested and amused, as I was, to hear that one of the most ardent among the admirers of "Adam Bede" is—Alexandre Dumas, the elder! Count Arrivabene brought us that information from Naples yesterday. Dumas declared about it, after his peculiar fashion, with the book in his hand, translating here and there, especially from Hettie's journey—and pronouncing the book to be the greatest novel of the age. After this I will never venture to predict who will like or dislike my books. But imagine what I escaped: by some means or other it was reported by telegraph that we were coming to Naples, and Dumas was preparing to announce my arrival in an article. I shudder at the thought. Pray appreciate the picture of my frightened self as you see it, and I will resist telling it to you, though I am plunged in the glooms of sick headache.

Mr. Lewes has finished his article on Hamlet and Othello, and will despatch it tomorrow. It is really important that there should be some truthful writing about Fechter's Othello. I think the performance positively injurious to the half-cultivated people who make up the mass of his audiences. That a tragedy like that, should produce a series of small letters in its moments of

highest pathos, is an outrage on Shakespeare and is denationalizing to the uttermost. I could perceive that most of the elegantly dressed people around me were totally unacquainted with the play and were being introduced to Shakespeare by Fechter. They were in a state of utter oblivion.

Ever yours truly  
M. F. Lewes

Count Carlo Arrivabene Valenti Guzziga (1824-74), an Italian patriot, fled to London in 1852, supporting himself by teaching languages. After becoming a British citizen in 1859, he returned to Italy as correspondent for the *Daily News*. In 1860 he followed Garibaldi from Sicily to Naples. Captured at the battle of Volturno, he was imprisoned until freed by British intervention. He returned to London early in November, 1861. Dumas who had been drifting about the Mediterranean in his yacht, the Emma, attached himself to Garibaldi, who appointed him to the nominal post of Director of the Museum at Naples; he held court briefly in one of the former royal palaces, where the reading of *Adam Bede* took place. George Eliot's opinion of Fechter's Othello echoes that expressed in Lewes's "Fechter in Hamlet and Othello", in *Blackwood's* for December, 1861: "I think his Hamlet is one of the very best, and his Othello one of the very worst I have ever seen."

Since George Eliot first told him of her plan for an Italian novel, Blackwood had mentioned it often in his letters with every expectation of publishing it. He did not know that George Eliot, in February, 1862, offered her £10,000 for the copyright of *Romola* to appear in the *Cornhill* in sixteen parts. This was a larger sum than all her previous writings together had brought her. For fear that the story would suffer from such short instalments, she refused his offer. In May, however, Smith persuaded her to accept £7,000 for its publication in twelve parts, the copyright reverting to her after six years. George Eliot's letter announcing her decision has been published (*Letters* IV, 34-5) from a copy made by Blackwood's clerk. The original shows a few minor variants.

16, Blandford Square,  
N.W.  
May 19, 1862

My dear Sir

I fear this letter will seem rather abrupt to you, but the abruptness is unavoidable.

Some time ago I received an offer for my next novel which I suppose was handsomer than almost any terms ever offered to a writer of fiction. As long as I hesitated on the subject I contem-

plated writing to you to ascertain your views as to the arrangement you would be inclined to make for the publication of the same work, since I was not willing to exchange my relations with you for any new ones without overpowering reasons. Ultimately, I declined the offer (on various grounds) and there was therefore no need to write.

But another offer, removing former objections, has been made, and after further reflection, I felt that, as I was not at liberty to mention the terms to you, and as they were hopelessly beyond your usual estimate of the value of my books to you, there would be an impropriety in my making an appeal to you before decision. I have consequently accepted the offer, retaining however a power over my copyright at the end of six years, so that my new work may then be included in any general edition.

I know quite well, from the feeling you have invariably shown, that if the matter were of more importance to you than it is likely to be, you would enter fully into the view of the case as it concerned my interests as well as your own.

I remain, my dear Sir,  
Always yours very truly  
M. F. Lewes  
John Blackwood Esq.

Feelings of indignation ran high within the firm over George Eliot's defection. But John Blackwood, who attributed it mainly to "Lewes's voracity", replied with admirable restraint. Though their pleasant correspondence lagged for a time, he continued to send cordial notes with his accounts each year, and occasionally when in London called on her.

The Six-shilling edition of her works proved disappointing, fewer than 6,000 volumes having been sold by January, 1864. In February, 1864, Blackwood cautiously reprinted 1,000 of *Adam Bede* and 500 of the volume containing the *Scenes* and *Silas Marner*. This is the printing that George Eliot refers to in the following letter—the only known letter from her to Blackwood in 1865.

The Priory,  
21, North Bank,  
Regents Park,  
May 4, 65

My dear Sir

I congratulate you more on being at Strathgrym than on the prospect of coming to London, though I shall be happy to see you when you are condemned to streets instead of sea-shore and mountains.

I see from Mr. Simpson's account that in February 1864, in accordance

with the intention you had mentioned to me, there were reprinted 500 of the 1 vol. edition of the Clerical Scenes with *Silas Marner*, and 1,000 of the 1 vol. ed. of *Adam Bede*, for which you will remember that I have not received any payment. Probably further reprints of the 6/- edition will not be required, and Mr. Lewes thinks that it will be well to defer a cheaper edition until I have published another book.

As you will imagine, he is very busy just now with the approaching first number of the *Fortnightly Review*, and the problem, well known to you, of reconciling uncalculated length of articles with calculated amount of space.

Believe me,  
Always yours truly  
Marian F. Lewes  
John Blackwood Esq.

Lewes had agreed early in 1865 to edit the *Fortnightly*, the first number of which appeared on May 13. Within a year he had found the strain too much for him, and in December, 1866, he resigned the editorship to John Morley. In April, 1866, George Eliot had returned to her old publisher and friend, John Blackwood, by sending him the manuscript of *Felix Holt*, the *Radical*, and within a week had accepted his offer of £5,000 for the copyright for five years.

The failure of the Six-shilling edition made her eager to find some new arrangement for her works. During the summer she and Lewes consulted with Blackwood about a plan to issue the novels printed from the stereotype plates in thirty-six penny numbers with illustrations. In the following letter George Eliot accepts Blackwood's proposal for what was called the Illustrated edition. He had never liked her short stories—"The Lifted Veil", which he published in *Atalanta* in July, 1859, and "Brother Jacob", which appeared in the *Cornhill* in July, 1864—and resisted her suggestions to include them in a volume with *Silas Marner*. He had not changed his opinion even in 1878, when she finally prevailed on him to add them in the Cabinet edition. Blackwood based his estimate of cost of the Illustrated edition on Chapman and Hall's similar format for Charles Clarke's *Charlie Thornhill* (1863). At the invitation of Alexander Macmillan, John Morley wrote an article on "George Eliot's Novels" for *Macmillan's Magazine* (August, 1866). According to Morley's biographer, F. W. Hirst, George Eliot was so pleased by it that she had Lewes call on Macmillan to thank him, and the introduction to Morley followed.

My dear Sir

I was glad to have your letter this morning, for I was thinking of writing to tell you that we had determined to set out for the South of France next Thursday. Mr. Lewes is feeling debility, causing him more frequent interruptions to the ability of writing, has made me unwilling to leave his work unfinished until it await his return. This, I feel, is the only wise course.

I am much obliged to you for giving me the estimate of expenses on a basis of judgment.

I accept your offer of one thousand pounds (£1000) for my interest in *Adam Bede*, the *Mill on the Floss*, *Felix Holt*, *Silas Marner*, and the *Scenes of Clerical Life*, during ten years, with a conditional five hundred pounds (£500) and above the one thousand, at the end of five years, in case of success according to your estimate.

I propose that, if convenient to you, the £1000 should be paid in two instalments together with the two instalments of the sum agreed upon for the five years' interest in *Felix Holt*.

The estimate for *Romola*, if I observe, will be best made when the time for its publication has arrived. I have a change in our relations with America, and I should open any new prospects, I have confidence that you would take into consideration my behalf as well as your own. As to Brother Jacob, the *Lifted Veil*, I abide by your opinion as to the supposed doctrines and atti-

That two shilling series of *Chapman and Hall* is among those that make shudder by the vitriol of the outside. Even if the profit were considerable, I should feel it a pity to see my books published in such a form. A bright colour is certainly desirable, and I should be glad to cover for the sixpenny series as the chosen with as much taste as the cover of the two-volume *Felix*.

Macmillan, talking to Mr. Lewes the other day, said, "If I were to see the other day, I would advise him to publish each rule of the *Scenes of Clerical Life* separately as a shilling volume." I entirely feel it is one of the special advantages of the "Scenes".

We have had three days of unbroken fog.

Always yours sincerely  
M. F. Lewes  
John Blackwood Esq.

These new letters will prove to bibliographers and to the students of George Eliot, who are hourly commending the enterprise of the National Library of Scotland in acquiring them for its collection.

sort of Neapolitan ice. This would at least have made it clear that the different arts were supported and encouraged by different sorts of patron: the patrons of Dryden's *Albion and Albanius* were not the same as those for his *Abraham and Achitophel*, nor were those for Vanbrugh's *The Provoked Wife* the same as those for his various buildings.

Mr Foss is given to making confident pronouncements that are sometimes highly questionable. He sees the comedy of manners as "the Restoration monument to anti-rationalism". If we are to discuss Restoration comedy in such downright terms, it might equally well be seen as a monument to rationalism. On the next page we are told that this comedy "with its easy acceptance of privilege, idleness and immorality, was an insult to the Whigs, whose rational programme aimed at doing away with all those horrors". It was an even greater insult to Jeremy Collier, the most extreme of Tories. The implication that the Whigs of the late seventeenth century stood for morality and the Tories didn't, and that the Tories were upholders of privilege and the Whigs weren't, is surely naive.

Indeed, some of Mr Foss's state-

## The living Buddhists of Burma

By GORDON S. SPIRO:  
Buddhism and Society  
Great Tradition and Its Burmese  
Varieties  
London, Allen and Unwin, £6.50.

It is remarkable that within a short space two major books should be published which, from studies of the living religion in the field, reverse the order of the interpretations of Buddhism as an agnostic and other-worldly religion that have long been dominant in the Western world. R. F. Gifford's *Precept and Practice* (Duckworth) and Melford Spiro presents an anthropological study of a closely related Theravāda Buddhist land.

That Buddhism is one of the world's great religions is undeniable, and yet it has appeared to be the odd one out which challenges some of the most fundamental conceptions about religion and its relationships to culture and society. Professor Spiro gives the usual views that

Theravāda Buddhism is atheistic, where the devotees of other religions turn to supernatural assistance in their quest for salvation. *Theravāda* Buddhism holds the belief in a soul, where other religions believe in one soul at the end of the world. *Theravāda* Buddhism holds that all experience entails suffering into consideration on my behalf as well as your own. As to Brother Jacob, the *Lifted Veil*, I abide by your opinion as to the supposed doctrines and atti-

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Indes of traditional Buddhism are not only exceptions to religion in general, but also to most ideas about human behaviour and human nature. They appear to present "a stunning paradox and some remarkable opportunities" for an anthropologist to uncover those conditions which led to the formation of beliefs constituting such dramatic exceptions to the general nature of religion. But when he settled into the field Professor Spiro's expectations were not realized, for he soon discovered that "the problem turned out to be a pseudo problem". Some of the doctrines were not normative teachings since he had derived them from secondary and inaccurate sources. Even more significantly, many of the doctrines "are only rarely internalized by the members of these societies, because they are either ignored or rejected by the faithful". So that living Buddhism, in spite of the textbooks, differs little from other religions in its beliefs and behaviour. However, that Buddhists do not follow all the beliefs to logical conclusions is itself not exceptional, since Christians and Jews, for example, "reject many normative doctrines of Christianity or Judaism".

Professor Spiro describes first of all what he calls "Nirbanic Buddhism", a doctrine of radical salvation which rejects everything worldly in favour of Nirvana (Pali-Nibbana), and then contrasts

change created by the Second Vatican Council and its aftermath would sweep aside much of the old security that had sustained the inherited Catholicism of his upbringing. There are already echoes of regret—in looking back to the fidelities that seem to him to have served the Church so well. But Cardinal Heenan is above all a realist, and his book is much more than a romantic recall of the unacknowledged ways that formed him. He can say that "in abandoning Latin the Church has given up more than a language", but he can also use Newman's words (though he does not quote them), "to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often".

The book ends before the tide of

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## Major Methodist

GORDON S. WAKEFIELD:  
Robert Newton Flew 1886-1962  
268pp. Epworth, £3.

Professor Flew, who died in 1962 at the age of seventy-six, was a most distinguished Methodist theologian. He studied at Oxford, Cambridge and in Germany, and in the progress gathered many degrees and honours. He wrote two outstanding books, and lectured in many universities in this country and elsewhere. He preached in cathedrals and churches almost all over the world, and took in his stride the headship of theological colleges. In addition he was at the centre of the ecumenical movement, and was active in the discussions between the Anglican and Methodist churches. Indeed few men could have accomplished more as a contribution to religious life during a most difficult period in which two world wars had set peculiarly difficult problems for Christian people. If he liked meeting important people—and, curiously enough, he seems to have missed only the Pope, though he attempted to do so—after all he was of that stature himself: had he not at Oxford beaten Lord Fisher in a university prize essay? It is all told by Gordon Wakefield in a vigorous style with an occasional anecdote.

But what gives the book a special interest is the fact that the author, who was born early enough to have experienced the rigours and blessings of a Methodist home, and though he had friends among Catholics, Anglicans and Roman, he remained a Methodist first and last with an unwavering biblically-based

faith. He quotes Dutt's distinction of conservative Buddhism from those religions of grace which seek a saviour for "refuge", but later admits that the daily confession, "I go to the Buddha for refuge", is as old as scripture itself and was attributed to the first lay follower of the Buddha.

The doctrine of nonself (*anatta*) seems to have been taught by the Buddha, but the Burmese "not only reject the concept" but do not even seem to know its meaning, and in this they are like most other Buddhists. Belief in reincarnation, held throughout Buddhism, negates the nonself idea and the concept of Nirvana makes further problems. For some, Nirvana is the extinction of desires but of the soul; for others, it is indescribable though peaceful; while yet others think it is eventual annihilation and therefore not "a desirable goal" since reincarnation is preferable. This affects the view of the world as all tainted by desire and so to be utterly renounced, according to doctrine. That life entails much suffering all would agree, and Dukkha, "suffering", is the commonest word in the Buddhist vocabulary. But the conclusion drawn is that the best life is that of a rich man or a blessed god in a luxurious heaven, and "with very few exceptions" most informants desired such a pleasant next life.

Professor Spiro has a valuable section on the Buddhist cultus, remarking justly that while the ornate ritual system of Mahāyāna Buddhism has often been remarked upon little has been said of the ritual of Theravāda. He describes the calendrical cycle of daily, weekly, monthly and annual rituals and festivals; the ceremonial cycles in the life of individuals and families from birth to death; and the crisis rituals on special occasions. Here there are many non-Buddhist

elements, or adaptations of Buddhism in funerals. An even longer section discusses Buddhism as a monastic system, describing the vocation, structure and social background. Although the many monks must renounce the world and have only a minimum of personal effects, yet compared with the average layman, a monk's life is one of material abundance, without those rigorous exercises which often accompany monasticism in other religions. Most social rituals involve feeding monks and giving them new clothes, and even begging bowls contain sets of small cups so that the housewife puts food and carries into different containers. One feels from the author some disapproval of too much feeding of monks and building of pagodas.

A final section appraises the role of Buddhism in society, rejecting Weber's view that Buddhism is inimical to worldly action, because of the distinction of Niobanic from Karmmic Buddhism. The doctrine of Karma provides a powerful social sanction, explaining one's lot in this life but promising a better future by an incentive to good conduct. Karma has tended both to legitimate political regimes and also to recognize revolutionary change. Monks generally have not engaged in political action and they provide an important otherworldly ideal, not only for Buddhist theory but for the kind of life and aspiration that the Burmese Buddhists have for themselves. Society is integrated by sharing this ideal and Buddhists identify "themselves with one another".

This is a most valuable, thoughtful and informative book, different from Dr Gombrich's work in emphasizing some of the changes from a "Great Tradition" in a particular society, but complementary to it in many ways, and especially important in its detail on ritual and monasticism.

## T.L.S.

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## The rise of the people as patrons

MICHAEL FOSS:  
The Age of Patronage  
The Arts in Society 1660-1750  
214pp. Hamish Hamilton, £3.15.

The relationship between the artist and the social and economic milieu in which he works is never easy to define. Generalizations about the laws of supply and demand are apt to crumble when brought to the test of individual works of art. "The drama's laws the drama's patrons give", but who were the patrons of drama in 1749 when Johnson made this pronouncement, and did they really want *tragic* and the long line of dreary neo-classical tragedies they had been given for the past fifty years? Or who were the original readers of *Robinson Crusoe*? The new middle class, the apprentice, and even the footman and kitchen-maid, no doubt—but also, as we are told, Alexander Pope, who thought highly of it. All this is not to deny that changing social circumstances have a considerable effect on what is written or built or painted, but the evidence is apt to point in various directions. "We that live to please must please to live", but again, the extent to which an artist or a writer chooses to please his patrons or him-

self will vary from one individual to another.

Michael Foss has dealt with a large and complex subject in a comparatively short book. He has made good use of secondary material, and he has also apparently read in some out-of-the-way places. The main lines of his argument are familiar enough. After the Restoration the Court resumed its traditional patronage of the arts, but in the later years of Charles II's reign the rise of political parties provided a new kind of patronage and helped to usher in an age of reason. As stability and wealth increased after the political disturbances that had marked the reigns of Charles II and James II, a new morality emerged, a new sense of discipline and social responsibility, and an era of prosperity produced patrons for the artists, architects and writers, not only among the well-to-do gentry like the Duke of Chandos, but among the rich merchant class. At the same time the influence of the Court began to dwindle, until under the first two Georges it was all but dead, and patronage shifted more and more to the people.

This is a very bald summary of the sort of historical progress that Mr Foss is concerned to trace.

Unfortunately, his demonstration is open to two objections. In the first place, as already suggested, the lines of demarcation are not nearly so clear or so contentious as he tends to suggest. He knows this, of course, and from time to time he says it: he sees Dryden, for instance, as "a reluctant rationalist", and his conversion to Roman Catholicism as "an affirmation in support of imagination over reason, a blow at the currents all through the period are much more persistent than he is disposed to admit, and to this extent he sacrifices the underlying complexity for the sake of driving a clear outline.

Yet the very clarity he seeks (and this is the second objection) is constantly blurred by his habit of shifting his point of view from architecture to music, from music to literature, from literature to painting. He gives us a few paragraphs on one art and then off to another and start all over again—a procedure which tends to confuse the reader, and which leads, incidentally, to a good deal of repetition. It would surely have been preferable to deal with each art in separate chapters, instead of making each chapter a

sort of Neapolitan ice. This would at least have made it clear that the different arts were supported and encouraged by different sorts of patron: the patrons of Dryden's *Albion and Albanius* were not the same as those for his *Abraham and Achitophel*, nor were those for Vanbrugh's *The Provoked Wife* the same as those for his various buildings.

Indeed, some of Mr Foss's state-

ments make one wonder how well he is acquainted with the period he is writing about. Nahum Tate, author of the second part of *Abraham and Achitophel*, is referred to as a Whig; *Mac Flecknoe* is said to have been written in 1682, and *The Dorn Englishman* to be "in defence of William's Dutch standing army". Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, with its dedication to the Whig Lord Somers, appeared in 1704, not 1700, and surely "the sudden jump" made from the Whigs to the Tories in 1710 was not made "for reasons that are not easily decipherable", but for reasons that are well documented and familiar to any student of Swift.

The author writes in a good, rather modest way, turning a phrase, but not worrying too much about its precision. Typical of his elegant manner of skating over the facts is the vague statement that Bristol and York were "wildly popular". This offhand manner is also evident in the treatment of the British Museum, which is mentioned as a place of publication, or page to help the earnest seeker after light when he consults the British Museum's Bodleian catalogues. Such treatment of the reader is, shall we say, exasperating.









